

# Movement towards Independence and Regional Integration up to 1973

## **The English -Speaking Caribbean**

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# The Road to Federation

- The idea of Federation for British West Indian territories dates back to 1800
- The idea was essentially that of the British Government
- It was aimed at governing all or some of the British West Indian islands as a single administrative unit

# Some early examples

- The Windward islands were governed as the Windward Islands Federation from 1883 to 1958
- Tobago was aligned to Trinidad between 1889 and 1898
- The Leeward Island Federation was established from 1871-1966  
it incorporated Antigua and Barbuda, Dominica, Montserrat and
- St. Vincent Kitts- Nevis-Anguilla
- Dominica was made part of the Windward Island Federation in 1939

# Greater involvement of the regional leaders

- They began discussing the idea in 1932
- Their concept differed from that of the British government
- Prominent leaders were involved
- These included T. A. Marryshow ( he was from Grenada and is hailed as the father of West Indian Federation)
- There was also Arthur Andrew Cipriani of Trinidad
- They were interested in a West Indian Federation with a constitution drafted by West Indians and for West Indians
- They were also interested in the right of West Indians to vote ( adult suffrage)

# Labour Unrest – a predisposing factor

- In the late 1930s, in 1937, the two years before WWII there was labour protest and social unrest across the English-speaking Caribbean
- These made the call for a West Indian Federation grow louder
- The call came from the West Indian Labour Congress
- The organization later became known as the Caribbean Labour Congress
- The Moyne Commission was established to inquire into cause of the disturbances
- The Labour Congress which had met in Guyana and Trinidad in 1938 recommended to the Commission the establishment of a West Indian Federation with full internal self-government on the basis of adult suffrage
- In 1947, two years after WWII, which lasted from 1939-1947, West Indian leaders met in Montego Bay, Jamaica. Their conference was called the Closer Association of the British West Indies
- The participants incorporated a wide cross section of leaders involved in labour, politics and community activities.
- They accepted in principle the idea of a West Indian Federation, but did not go as far as the acceptance of a region-wide Federation as was suggested by the West Indian leaders and thinkers of 1938, who was interested in a self-governing body
- The idea of West Indian Federation was very acceptable to the British Government, as Britain was reeling under anti-colonial pressure for reform across its empire

# Negotiating a British West Indian Federation

- Negotiation towards the Federation began in 1953
- It was guided by Britain
- It was conducted solely between the West Indian political leaders and Britain
- Negotiations were conducted outside the region (in Britain)
- The people/the masses were not involved

# Establishing the Federation

- The talks led to the establishment of the West Indian Federation
- The federation was established by the British Caribbean Federation Act of 1956
- The Federation itself was established in 1958
- The leaders, many of them, hoped that Federation would be a vehicle towards the achievement of political independence
- Some leaders, George Brice of British Honduras (Belize) and Cheddi Jagan (of British Guiana) did not consider the West Indian Federation to be in the best way forward, and did not participate in the Federal arrangement

# Governing the Federation

- The Federal Government was headed by and Executive Governor General appointed by Britain. It included:
  1. A Prime Minister elected from among and by members of the House of Representatives (so there was to be was established a House of Representative, which consisted of 45 members elected from among the territories)
  2. A Cabinet, comprised of the Prime Minister and other elected members chosen by him
  3. There was also a 19-member senate , nominated by the Governor - General following consultations with the Prime Minister
  4. A Council of State presided over by the Governor-General. This Council was also to include the Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet, as well three senators and three civil servants. The senators and civil servants were chosen by the Governor-General
  5. The Governor- General was Lord Hailes of Britain
  6. The Prime Minister was Grantley Adams of Barbados
  7. The federal capital was Trinidad and Tobago



# Some key developments

- The Federation lasted from 1958- 1962: it was short-lived
- During its short life time its attempted to do dome federal things including the establishment of some federal policies and federal institutions
- Some of its policies were keenly debated in order to strengthen the federation, including:
  1. The establishment of direct taxes by the federal Government (keenly debated)
  2. Central planning for development
  3. Formation of a regional customs union –a kind of trade block consisting of a free trade area and a common external tariff – essentially co-operation at the level of a free trade area (FTA) or involving a free trade area aimed at reducing trade barriers, import duties and tariff or taxes, quotas and restrictions, a policy of open borders as it relates to trade – all these initiatives relates to what is known or considered to be the secondary level of regional integration
  4. Initiatives to develop a West Indian Shipping Services
  5. Co-operation in respect of tertiary education

# Problematic Issues

- The problem of the issue of direct taxes was the most controversial
- The federation was not permitted to impose income taxes for the first five years of its life
- There was great diversity and division over how the taxes were to be imposed

# The nature of the

- The Federation consisted of 10 territories

1. Antigua and Barbuda
2. Barbados
3. Dominica
4. Grenada
5. Jamaica
6. Montserrat
7. St. Kitts- Nevis and Anguilla
8. St. Lucia
9. St. Vincent
10. Trinidad and Tobago

# Dates of political Independence

• Jamaica	6 August 1962
• Trinidad and Tobago	31 August 1962
• Guyana	26 May 1966
• Barbados	30 November 1966
• Bahamas, The	10 July 1973
• Grenada	7 February 1974
• Dominica	3 November 1978
• Saint Lucia	22 February 1979
• Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	27 October 1979
• Belize	21 September 1981
• Antigua and Barbuda	1 November 1981
• Saint Kitts and Nevis	19 September 1983

# Non- Independent British West Indian Territories

- Bermuda                      none    (overseas territory of the UK)
- Montserrat                   none    (overseas territory of the UK)
- Anguilla none                none    (overseas territory of the UK)

# The Break up of the Federation

- Jamaica the large member of the Federation
- Issue of staying the keenly debated
- The Manley vs. Bustamante issues
- Jamaica being sucked a number of smaller piglets
- The referendum
- The Jamaican withdrawal from the federation
- The immediate development of a movement aimed at independence
- Trinidad and Tobago's conception of mathematics

# Some issues impact Trinidad and Tobago's and Independence of other islands

- 1 from 10 leaves 0
- The role of leadership
- The global movement
- Weakening of the major world powers after WWII
- The rise of Nationalist Movements everywhere
- The rise of Socialism/Marxism/Communism
- The Cold War
- The rise of Islamism
- The nationalist movement in India (key personalities )
- The nationalist movement in Africa ( key personalities)

# More on the Trinidad and Tobago Context

- Chaguaramas – The capital of the Federation
- Federation Park
- Eric Williams – The Challenge to Britain and the US
  - The struggle for Chaguaramas
  - Williams, the Oxford scholar
  - The Lease-Base Agreements
  - the Marlborough House Discussions
  - the discussions between the government and opposition
  - the dialogue over free and fair election, equality of
    - employment
  - the case for independent commissions to prevent discrimination and unfair treatment and to ensure equality before the law



# Some of the Commissions to protect rights

- The Judicial and Legal Service Commission
- The Police Service Commission
- The Public Service Commission
- The Salary Review Commission
- Later on, the Integrity Commission
- Later on, the Equal Opportunities Commission

# Regional Integration after the Dissolution of the Federation

- In 1962 - several leaders of the of the smaller Caribbean nations attempted to establish as “Little Eight”.
- The attempt was abandoned in 1965
- The issues were the amount of aid to be given to different islands and the power to be ceded to the federal government
- There were some gains which had been achieved in 1962
  1. The University College of the West Indies
  2. The Caribbean Meteorological Service (1963)
  3. The West Indies Shipping Council

# CARIFTA 1965- the revival of Integration

- In 1965 the premiers of Barbados, British Guiana and the Chief Minister of Antigua and Barbuda announced plans to establish a Free trade Area.
- In accordance with these objectives and in collaboration with University of the West Indies a series of in-house economic studies were done on production and trade within the region, and on Caribbean transport.
- A decision was taken to establish CARIFTA - the Caribbean Free Trade Area. A decision was also taken to establish a CARIFTA Secretariat and The Caribbean Development Bank.
- Caribbean Countries were divided into Lesser Developed Countries (LDCs) and More Developed Countries (LDCs).
- The categorization was aimed at determining and organising the nature and flow of development effort and initiatives.
- The CARIFTA Agreement was established in 1968. Its founding members were Dominica, Grenada, St Kitts- Nevis –Anguilla, St Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines. Later that year it was signed by Montserrat and Jamaica. In 1971 Belize joined the organization.

# The Aims of Carifta were:

- Increasing trade –buying and selling more goods among member states
- Diversifying trade- expanding the range of goods and services for trade
- Liberalising trade- removing tariff and quotas
- Ensuring fair competition – setting up rules to follow in order to ensure fair competition
- Implementing measures to ensure the development of the LDC
- The development of Agricultural Marketing Protocols- aimed at the developing trade of Agricultural products in the regions
- Guaranteed Marketing Schemes
- Rules of Origins

# Other Objectives and Later Initiatives

- Establishment of CXC; then later CAPE
- Establishment of the Associated States Council of Ministers and the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States

# The Establishment of Caricom

- The Caribbean Common Market established in 1973
- Economic Integration
- Functional Co-operation
- Co-ordination of Foreign Policy

# The CARICOM Single Market and Economy, 2001/2-2006 and continuing

- Deepening economic integration by advancing beyond a common market towards a Single Market and Economy.
- Widening the membership and thereby expanding the economic mass of the Caribbean Community (e.g. Suriname and Haiti were admitted as full members in 1995 and 2002 respectively).
- Progressive insertion of the region into the global trading and economic system by strengthening trading links with non-traditional partners.
- A precursor to CARICOM and its CSME was the Caribbean Free Trade Agreement formed in 1965 and dissolved in 1973.

# Challenges

- Constitutional Monarchies – Head of State vs. Heads of government
- Lone Wolf Republics – Trinidad and Tobago, Co-operative Republic of Guyana
- Caribbean Court of Justice vs. the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council
- Small Island Developing State (SIDs); avoiding failed states



# CARICOM SINGLE MARKET AND ECONOMY

- A world beyond your dreams:
- World without borders
- A world without work permits
- A region of uniformed standard
- A region with what mounts to single passport
- Free movement of capital
- A region of CARICOM citizenship, defence
- A wider, deeper, far more integrated Caribbean
- A region in which the descendants of enslaved African and Indian indentured labourer have been able to change a region of boundless hope achievement and opportunity

THANK YOU!